

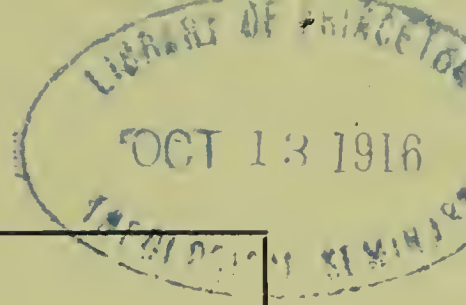
FORBES

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and

Some Misconceptions

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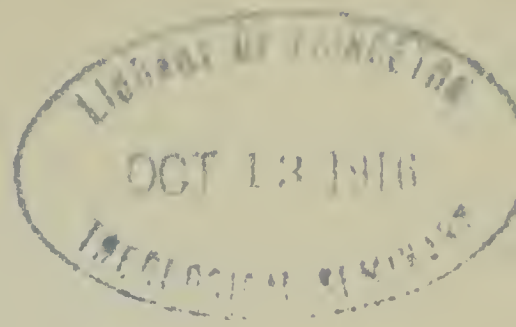


THE PEACE MOVEMENT
AND SOME MISCONCEPTIONS

BY

MRS. J. MALCOLM FORBES ✓





THE PEACE MOVEMENT AND SOME MISCONCEPTIONS*

It is a satisfaction to be asked to speak to you of the Cause which I believe the most far-reaching of our generation. I know it is as yet an unpopular Cause, but this is because of misconceptions. The ideas and ideals of Peace workers are not yet generally understood, and it is occasions such as this, where broad-minded persons come together for the purpose of looking into one another's aims and work, which are going to remove misunderstandings.

I maintain that as fast as it is understood, the movement for the substitution of law for war will make adherents of every man and every woman in our land, and in all civilized lands.

The chief reason for the widespread misapprehension of the Peace Movement has come, I believe, from the name "Peace." Truly a beautiful word, but not suitable for the title of a movement at once radical and bold, formed for the abolition of the war system.

Had the men and women who, in the beginning of the last century, banded themselves together for the overthrow of slavery, called themselves by some title which had a like flavor of piety and finality, I believe that the Anti-Slavery Movement would have met with as many hindrances as has the Peace Movement. Largely because of the word "Peace," persons not yet in the Movement imagine that those who are working to bring about the new order are making use merely of appeals to sentiment, talking in gentle tones of how to bring in the millenium, and crying, Peace! Peace! whereas, the truth is that the *war against war* is and has long been an aggressive campaign of education, its

* Address delivered at a meeting of the Executive Board of the National Civic Federation (New England Section), May 4, 1916.

teachings proclaimed in no mincing or uncertain tones. *The Peace Movement is a determined onslaught on the old and barbarous system of war, and a persistent pointing of the way to constructive international relations.* The Peace worker deals not in doves nor olive branches. He must summon all the clearness of thought and logic that he can command; and he must needs stand firm in his faith, heeding neither the ridicule nor the sneers of the unconverted.

When a man new to the Movement hears the words, Peace Society, Peace Advocate and Pacifist, he not unnaturally associates the movement for which they stand, with passive and mild attributes; he thinks he would almost be ashamed to join a Peace Society, for he says he does "not believe that man is intended to live without fighting." Then the explanation has to be made that the "fighting" he means (healthy struggle and competition) is not synonymous with the killing of men. The Peace Movement *is* a battle. In the words of Phillips Brooks:

"It is not that the power to fight has perished, it is that the battle has gone up on higher grounds."

In addition to this fundamental misapprehension there is at present much misunderstanding because of the so-called "Preparedness" Movement, which is demanding the attention of every patriotic American. One hears statements implying that there are two antagonistic societies at work: the Preparedness Society on the one hand, and the Peace Society on the other. This is a misconception. It is true that nearly all Peace societies are opposed to colossal armament, believing that over-large armies and navies invite war, and are opposed to legislation which subjugates civil to military interests, but the Peace Movement as a whole stands for adequate defense. There is certainly as great a difference of opinion as to what constitutes "*adequate* defense" found among Peace workers as among militarists—but no Peace worker thinks the millenium has come or that nations can yet disarm; on the other hand we maintain that there are many ways in which a nation may defend itself besides guns and dreadnoughts, and

that these newer ways make for a better and more permanent defense. Peace workers stand for a more comprehensive Preparedness than mere military efficiency: that Preparedness which subserves international interests, rather than national interests alone.

I should like to read a few paragraphs from statements which were issued this winter by the Massachusetts Peace Society (to which belong many men and women of the State); and by the Massachusetts Branch of the Woman's Peace Party, which is one of the strongest, although one of the newest of the Peace organizations. We call this Massachusetts Peace Society pamphlet, "Law Must Replace War." It reads partly as follows:

"(1) MILITARISTS SAY that the Peace Movement is opposed to adequate national defense.

The truth is that what we oppose is not national defense, but the international war system which makes military defense seem necessary. The Peace Movement has use for both those who advocate increased provision for national defense and those who believe that 'preparedness' invites war.

(2) MILITARISTS SAY that the Peace Movement is unpatriotic.

The truth is that the Peace Movement expresses the highest type of patriotism,—that patriotism which sees that national welfare depends upon international cooperation in all matters of international concern. Its object is international justice in accordance with the principles of international law.

(3) MILITARISTS SAY that the European war has proved the futility of the Peace Movement.

The truth is that the developments of the past year have demonstrated the correctness of the position taken by the workers for peace. The terrible menace of militarism now stands revealed,—its ruthless destruction of the very things that civilization most cherishes.

(4) MILITARISTS SAY that peace advocates want 'peace at any price.'

The truth is that the peace we want is that based on

just and friendly international relations: it has no connection with that passive acceptance of injustice and tyranny which the phrase 'peace at any price' suggests.

- (5) MILITARISTS SAY that peace advocates are impractical and visionary sentimentalists.

The truth is that the constructive program of the Peace Movement commands the active support of leading statesmen, eminent legal authorities, economists, business associations, labor organizations, and of many men and women noted for practical achievement."

The other Statement reads as follows:

"In view of the widespread misapprehension as to the principles held by the Woman's Peace Party, the Executive Committee of the Massachusetts Branch desires to issue a statement which we believe to be a correct interpretation of the platform of the Party in its application to present conditions.

"The Woman's Peace Party was formed to protest against the war system and to work for the substitution of law for war. Peace at any price has no place in its platform, nor does it advocate non-resistance.

"Pending further steps to be taken jointly by the nations toward making world organization effective, we recognize that armies and navies must exist in the present state of international morality. But we believe that other and better means of preserving the vital interests of nations are already available. We emphasize the fact that there is more than one kind of defense. We thoroughly endorse plans for a League to insure Peace which provides drastic, concerted non-intercourse as a penalty for aggression by any nation, with action by an international police as a last resort.

"We feel that the state of fear and suspicion now being fostered in our country by the propaganda conducted by some newspapers and magazines as well as by individual militarists, is to be deplored. We look with apprehension at the placing of men personally interested in the manufacture or sale of munitions of war on National Advisory Boards and Congressional Committees. There is a serious danger that our country may become committed to a policy of such increased war preparations as will overstep real necessity and may place us in the grip

of a situation from which later it will be extremely difficult to free ourselves.

“No nation standing alone to-day can ever be sufficiently prepared to face a hostile coalition such as is possible in the modern world. Only in concerted action and co-operation can justice and security be attained. This war has demonstrated as never before the essential interdependence of nations. We can no longer, if we would, stand apart and work out our own salvation without reference to the interests and aspirations of other nations. Whatever policy is now adopted by this country as regards increase of armaments will compel other nations to follow its example. A grave responsibility is laid upon the people of the United States.

“We are opposed to compulsory military training in schools, and to compulsory military service. These are wholly out of keeping with American traditions and ideals.

“Concerning the vexed question of supplying munitions to belligerents by citizens of neutral nations, we feel that our government should take no action during the war. This and other matters should be considered after the cessation of hostilities in the reorganization of international law.

“The Woman’s Peace Party stands for International Justice which alone can secure permanent peace. It stands for those principles of democracy held by the founders of our Republic, and which to-day are imperilled. We urge all thoughtful, patriotic women to work with us.”

In the Massachusetts Branch of the Woman’s Peace Party we are urging the *Newer Preparedness*, by which we mean such measures as *promote justice* between nations; measures that tend to *reduce friction* between nations; and measures which *produce cooperation* between nations.

Among these measures of the *Newer Preparedness* are:

(1) The League to Enforce Peace, which puts into concrete form that for which nearly all Peace societies and leaders have been striving for years.

(2) The creation of an Oriental-American Commission, which shall study the complex and important questions at issue between Japan and China and the United

States, and which shall from time to time make recommendations to the governments involved.

(3) The passage of the law advocated by the American Bar Association, giving federal control over aliens, in order to prevent local conditions in the several States from having undue influence in causing friction with other countries.

(4) The development of the Monroe Doctrine into a Pan-American Doctrine.

(5) Action to provide for the elimination of private profit from the manufacture of armament. This cannot be done till after this war, since international as well as national questions are involved.

The Woman's Peace Party has urged upon Congress "That a joint committee be appointed to conduct thorough investigation, with public hearings, and report within the next six months upon the condition of our military and naval defences with special reference to the expenditure of past appropriations."

We feel that it is both unbusinesslike and senseless to increase enormously—I do not say slightly, I say enormously—our present appropriations, until we have at least tried to patch the holes in the sieve through which a vast amount of the money contributed by our country for armaments is now running off. All persons inside and outside of the army and navy declare that only a portion of the money we yearly appropriate for defense goes where it should, and everyone knows that much of it goes into useless army posts and much of it into wretched and unnavigable naval basins. Shall we sit down and allow this waste to go on forever? We Peace workers say No!

Is it not in line with our careless and wasteful "Americanism" (not our ideal Americanism) to maintain this sieve, and to keep on calling for greater and greater sums for armaments? Is it not logical that we should see how far our appropriations, if properly administered, can make our present equipment efficient?

Why do not our Preparedness friends—and they are and must be our friends—carry on a whirlwind campaign for stopping up this sieve, and for reducing the

“pork barrel”? Most of the Preparedness propaganda which is now being carried on in our country is concentrating people’s thoughts on our nation alone, on increasing our possessions and physical strength, with no thought for the welfare of other nations, or for the service which we can and should render to others. Is not this a narrow outlook?

Let us, while we are putting our own house into better order, promote measures which will help and not hinder our neighbors. Let us remember that in this modern interdependence of nations, the welfare of each nation is bound up with the rest.

Even from a purely selfish point of view, we shall be far less efficiently defended from future troubles if we are looking and laboring for our own interests only.

We feel that the *Newer Preparedness* is a very much broader movement than the kind of Preparedness which is threatening to become a replica of what Germany has been urging on her people for the last forty years, and which has led to war. But it is not Germany alone who has been preparing for war, misnamed “Peace,” by inoculating all her boys and men with the militaristic spirit.

Let us keep our eyes open; let us keep our minds alert to recognize evil from good, that we may be able to pluck the tares from the wheat in these vital questions of Preparedness, Patriotism and Americanism.

Now for a bit of history: Although the Peace Movement in the last ten years has advanced by leaps and bounds, it had been marching forward, with few serious setbacks, since 1815, when the first societies in the world were organized. The first group was started in New York and is still working under its original name—The New York Peace Society. This year it is giving its whole strength to advancing the League to Enforce Peace.

The Massachusetts Peace Society was organized in the same year by a group of men and women who met in the study of Dr. William Ellery Channing’s church in Boston. Later it became the parent of over thirty State branches under the name of The American Peace

Society with headquarters in Washington, D. C. A new Massachusetts Peace Society was formed six years ago, and is already one of the most vigorous of the State branches. It has been fortunate in having as its Presidents, Mr. Samuel B. Capen, Mr. Samuel J. Elder, and Professor Bliss Perry, who is about to begin his second term of office.

In the last one hundred years Peace Societies have multiplied enormously, not only here in America, but all over the world, so that there are now many hundreds of separate organizations with scores of branches.

But the seed was sown hundreds of years ago, and in order really to understand it one should study this Movement as he would any other great human development; he must know its aims, history and achievements.

Long before there was any Peace organization, there were prophets who spoke of the vision which had come to them; and though these voices seemed to speak in the wilderness, the words they uttered did not fall on deaf ears.

We find among early Greek writers some of the most powerful arraignments of war. Isaiah and Micah, with their glorious visions, were Peace prophets in Israel; and nineteen hundred years ago was born in Bethlehem the Prince of Peace, whose words are yet but little understood.

During the first two centuries after Christ, his followers refused to fight at all; then the church temporarily yielded to love of pomp and power, war was apotheosized instead of condemned, and the vision of the faithful was dimmed.

In the fourteenth century was born in the city of Coutances, Pierre Du Bois, who issued a plan for an international representative organization which, strange to say, was practically followed six hundred years later when the first Hague Conference met in 1899; though probably few individuals present had ever heard of this French lawyer.

Among the thinkers who put forth plans for International Peace, was Henry IV of France, who wrote "The Great Design," which proposed European federation as the means to attain the end.

Not long after this, Hugo Grotius, Holland's revered scholar and benefactor, gave to the world "The Rights of War and Peace," of which our statesman, Andrew D. White, wrote: "Of all works not claiming to be inspired, 'The Rights of War and Peace' has proven the greatest blessing to humanity."

In the seventeenth century George Fox with his followers in England endured beatings and persecutions for standing steadfast to their faith. They were called "Quakers" because they made the enemies of Peace to quake by their burning words against war.

In the same century William Penn for years kept peace with the American Indians, through putting into practice his theories of justice and cooperation. In 1693 he wrote "The Present and Future Peace of Europe," in which he advocated a Congress of Nations and a League to Enforce Peace.

Immanuel Kant, master mind of Germany, urged the organization of the world in his essay on "Eternal Peace," which was published at the very time that our Constitution made the American group of thirteen Federated States a world power. Kant insisted that World Peace could never be permanently attained until international organization was effected.

In the years following our Declaration of Independence the prophets came in greater and greater numbers, both here and in Europe. The "Father of Our Country," soldier though he was, spoke against war in no uncertain terms, declaring: "My first wish is to see this plague to mankind (war) banished from the earth, and the sons and daughters of this world employed in more pleasing and innocent amusements than in preparing implements and exercising them for the destruction of mankind; to see the whole world in Peace, and the inhabitants of it as one band of brothers striving who should contribute most to the happiness of mankind.

"I shall never so far divest myself of the feelings of a man interested in the happiness of his fellow-men as to wish my country's prosperity might be built on the ruins of that of other nations. Peace with all the world is my sincere wish. I am sure it is our true policy."

Then denunciations of the system followed from Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, Samuel Adams, Josiah Quincy, David Low Dodge, William Ladd, Elihu Burritt, Noah Worcester, Charles Sumner, William Ellery Channing, Ralph Waldo Emerson, William Lloyd Garrison, Edward Everett Hale, and many others.

In Europe, Cobden, Bright and Victor Hugo were courageous champions of the new ideals, as was also Gladstone.

Early in the nineteenth century was born Jean de Bloch, a Polish Jew. He began life as a peddler, but later rose to power and fame, becoming a great administrator. Not only did he finance thousands of miles of railways, but he became an intermediary between the Czar's ministers and the powerful bankers of Europe. A lifelong student of war, he studied especially the relation of war to transportation. His great book, "The Future of War," was an analysis of statistics and scientific facts, gathered by the military experts of Europe, which his synthetic mind revealed in their bearing upon our civilization. This book, which passed under critical review of six generals, was long considered only less influential in the promotion of peace than "The Rights of War and Peace." It was assuredly one of the forces which led the Czar to call the first Hague Conference.

Is it not significant that over twenty years ago, Jean de Bloch said in conversation with William T. Stead:—"War has become more and more a matter of mechanical arrangement. Modern battles will be decided, so far as they can be decided at all, by men lying in improvised ditches, which they have scooped out to protect themselves from the fire of a distant and invisible enemy. As a profession, militarism is growing less attractive."

In 1909 there appeared in England a little book entitled, "Europe's Optical Illusion," written by Norman Angell, a man then wholly unknown to the world. Before the year was over, Count von Metternich, German Ambassador to England, had delivered a speech which was a frank paraphrase of this book; it had been quoted at length in the French Assembly; it had attracted the

attention of King Edward and of the Emperor of Germany, and it was stirring the admirals and generals of Europe. Sir Edward Grey declared that the "illusion," *viz.*, the erroneous idea that economic advantage follows military victory, had first dawned on his vision through reading this book.

The chiefs of four European States asked for "a book in place of a booklet"; whereupon, a year later appeared "The Great Illusion," which embodied the gist of the criticisms of the earlier booklet and presented cogent and penetrating refutations of the same.

Mr. Angell has been accused by Admiral Mahan of ignoring the primary cause of most wars—"sentiment, prejudice, and a perverted sense of honour"; but his very first book proves that he is a past-master in the analysis of these and other causes of war and of the psychology of the mob.

Since then several important books and scores of magazine articles have appeared from the pen of Norman Angell and his words are heeded all over the world.

Important works on International Relations and Peace *versus* War are now appearing almost from day to day. One of the notable books of this year, "Social Progress and the Darwinian Theory," is by a rising American author, George Nasmyth, who is in the foremost rank of the younger leaders in the rational or scientific Peace Movement represented by Norman Angell, the Russian sociologist, Novicow, and others.

Some persons, although in sympathy with the Movement, have asked why the Peace Movement should be carried on *now*; why not wait until the war is over? The answer is that *this is the very moment* to bring to the conviction of every man and every woman in our country that the war system must be condemned as the method of settling international disputes, and that it is in man's power to get rid of it; that in its place we must establish the system of law and order, under which alone is possible justice to all, and a continuation of civilization.

One of the erroneous ideas at present current in some quarters is that the workers for abolition of the War

System are not in sympathy with relief work. A preposterous accusation! I believe there is no group of persons who feel more sympathy and interest in the fate of wounded soldiers and prisoners of war than those who are working for the overthrow of the system of war.

We believe in the Red Cross work and its further extension and we hope that the American Red Cross will soon count its millions of members and not continue to lag behind European and Asiatic countries in this important matter.

In some societies "war relief and war prevention" have been combined. Anti-War Knitting Circles have been instituted: the plan being to combine knitting or sewing for the war sufferers with the acquiring of knowledge of the International Peace Movement. Striking Peace and War pamphlets or plays are read to the group at work.

We Peace workers believe in the Boy Scout Movement of America, and are determined that it shall continue to follow the lines laid down by its founder, General Baden Powell, who has always been emphatically opposed to its being militarized. His basic idea is to train boys for *normal, i. e., civic* citizenship; and to turn their courage and energy into channels of constructive service to their cities and to their countries. It is to be deplored that the other and newer organization, called the United States Boy Scout Movement, is being made essentially military; and it is unfortunate that it should not have chosen a less imitative name.

The accusation sometimes made that Peace teaching is liable to undermine patriotism, can be urged only by persons possessed of but superficial knowledge of the anti-war movement, for when we work to banish the war system from the earth, are we lowering the heroic ideals of manhood? Are we training our boys to be "mollycoddles"? Far from it! We bring up our boys to be ready to die for their country by *servng* humanity's need; and for daily, not occasional, service only.

Are not high forms of courage, devotion and self-sacrifice found in many of the careers open to both men and women, such as those of missionaries, doctors, nurses, sailors, firemen? It is a grave mistake to assume that the

one and the highest form of service to one's country is that of the soldier. At best that is only *one* form of service, and in the majority of cases the soldier is not exposed to discomfort, peril and death in the constant way that is the doctor or nurse or life-saver. Many other professions might be named which also are full of opportunity for devotion and self-sacrifice to ideals.

We who are working for Peace are the first to recognize the superb courage and devotion shown by the heroes of war, and we know that the world hourly needs such qualities, but we realize that there is entire scope for their manifestation without any battles of blood.

In this last year a false affirmation has been frequently heard, *i. e.*, that the women who went to the Hague as delegates of the Woman's Peace Party last April were expecting to *stop the war*. This was not true. They went to unite with the women of the belligerent and of neutral nations in making such a protest against the War System as must impress the world's conscience; to urge on the governments of the countries at war the calling of a conference of neutral nations; and to try to organize a conference for continuous mediation.

That a conference of nations shall be called as soon as the time is ripe, has been urged by Senator Root; and is constantly in the mind of President Wilson and of many statesmen in the neutral as well as in the belligerent countries.

The Woman's Peace Party was formed because Jane Addams felt that we American women must not stand by as onlookers merely, or as knitters merely, with this tragedy across the seas. In December, 1914, Miss Addams wrote to women representing many organizations in various parts of this country, asking them to assemble in Washington to see what could be done. Many responded to the call, and after three days' conferences, a platform was agreed upon, and the Woman's Peace Party came into existence.

Mr. Hamilton Holt, Editor of the *Independent*, wrote as follows: "They (the Woman's Peace Party) issued a manifesto, unsurpassed, we think, in power and moral fervor by anything that has been issued here or abroad

since the great war began. They adopted a Platform radical, sound, statesmanlike, constructive."

There may be differences of opinion regarding some of the eleven planks of the Platform, but in the words of our Declaration of Principles, "we have given freedom of expression to a wide divergence of opinion in the details of our Platform in a common desire to make our woman's protest against war and all that makes for war, vocal, commanding and effective," and the whole object of the Woman's Peace Party is to push constructive Peace work.

We want with us every woman who believes that the system of war must be abolished.

The late Justice Brewer said: "There never was a time since the beginning of days, that woman longed for bloodshed and the carnage of war, and the more fully she realizes its waste and destruction the more earnest will become her opposition. Nowhere in the world is she so potent a force in public life as in this country, and you may be sure that that force will be ere long concentrated in steadfast opposition to war. She cannot be sneered or laughed out of her faith."

"Nothing will carry on your Peace Movement as this war is going to do," was said to me in August, 1914, by one of our practical statesmen; and this is being verified, for the revulsion against war is now as stupendous as the war itself. The glamour has been dissipated, and the evils that war breeds are being exposed to the onlooker as never before in all history.

This present war is indeed helping on the Peace Movement, for at last two groups of men and women have come over into our ranks, who heretofore could not see the necessity of so doing.

One of these groups contains those persons who, before July, 1914, were saying, "Men always have fought, and always will fight, and what is the use of trying to stop wars?" They see now that if civilization is not to destroy itself, we must *force* men to keep the Peace, even when grouped in nations; just as we *force* men to keep the Peace in our cities and States. And this forcing is done in the main by public opinion, *i. e.*, moral force.

The second group contains those idealistic but unimaginative persons who thought war wholly a glorious thing because their only knowledge of it had been gained through history and poetry. As most of the literature of our schools and homes deals with the nobler human qualities which war—as well as earthquake, fire and flood—brings out in men, the knowledge thus gained had not brought to these persons a realization of the brutal developments which are also a part of war; so they would say, “War is a fine thing, and the world needs it now and then!”

To this type of mind one always wanted to quote the words of William Ellery Channing:

“It is said that without war to excite and invigorate the human mind, some of its noblest energies will slumber, and its highest qualities—courage, magnanimity, fortitude—will perish. To this I answer that, if war is to be encouraged among nations because it nourishes energy and heroism, on the same principle war in our families, and war between neighborhoods, villages and cities ought to be encouraged; for such contests would equally tend to promote heroic daring and contempt of death.

“We do *not* need war to awaken human energy. There is at least equal scope for courage and magnanimity in blessing as in destroying mankind. . . . Away then, with the argument that war is needed as a nursery of heroism!”

Both these groups are now recognizing the truth of what Anti-War workers have been saying for years—that war among nations is like the duel between individuals; and that evolution and history show the decline of war, and that war must go!

Cardinal Gibbons said a few years ago: “The time is fast coming when, like the duel between individuals, the international duel will be relegated to the museum of social monstrosities.”

You remember Emerson’s words: “It is not a great matter how long men refuse to believe the advent of Peace; a universal Peace is as sure as is the prevalence of civilization over barbarism, of liberal governments

over feudal forms. The question for us is only How Soon?"

How Soon? Yes, that is where the work for Peace societies comes in; it is for us to hasten the day! The day can be hastened if men and women will put their thought and strength into this war against war.

To quote again from Emerson's Essay on War: "If Peace is to be maintained, it must be by brave men, who have come up to the same height as the hero, namely, the will to carry their life in their hand, and stake it at any instant for their principle; but who have gone one step beyond the hero of war and will not take another man's life."

It was Bishop Brent who wrote from the Philippine Islands, soon after the European war broke out:

"All of us who have steadily been learning the meaning and value of Peace according to the ideal given us by the Prince of Peace cannot fail to be wrung with anguish by the tempest of hatred, selfishness and slaughter which is sweeping over Europe. . . . There is little that can be done by us to terminate this awful war. . . .

"But it seems to me our first duty is to examine ourselves and see how and where we as individuals are contributing to a social and national condition that makes war not only possible but easy. . . .

"There is no man, however humbly he counts himself a follower of Jesus Christ, who can fail to be roused to new earnestness by the war. Some of us may be called to do something extreme. But whether by much or by little we must stand boldly forth without counting cost."

It is surely the duty of every person who believes that war is a hideous anachronism in this age, to join at least one of the Peace societies. "In unity is strength," and if the Peace army in every country can have full membership, the system of war cannot endure a day.

Isolated indeed from the great currents of today's civilization is the man or woman who stands aloof from the work for Permanent Peace; who does not in some way help on this holy crusade of the twentieth century—the crusade for Justice and Brotherhood.

An Introduction to the Literature of the Peace Movement

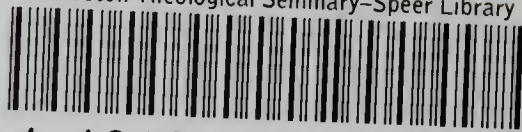
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